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Wednesday, March 11, 1953

Things were [redacted] quiet at the Maison d'Europe this morning, so E and I had a look at some of the antique shops but drew a blank, with the exception of a few porcelain saucers, which will serve as ash trays in Paris, the house being bare of them. We lunched with Nannie and George Andrews at their home, and I spent most of the afternoon drawing up a cable to the Department as follows:

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1. I have now talked to Foreign Ministers of all 6 nations on this subject, as well as to numbers of other officials and Parliamentarians.

A) Adenauer certain his Government will obtain passage on third reading commencing in Bundestag March 19.

B) Italians, as reported Strasbourg TEL 300 to DEPT, [redacted] no longer confident they can get action in Lower Chamber before dissolution pending elections. However, this question not yet decided since De Gasperi willing to take risks if situation permits.

C) Bech talked frankly to Adenauer and myself yesterday about Luxembourg position. Is settled in determination expressed to me in Luxembourg not to seek ratification his Parliament where approval will be easy, until Belgium and perhaps France also have acted.

This springs from traditional policies his country against taking first line position. He thinks that speedy ratification Luxembourg would only irritate these other 2 nations and would be harmful to ultimate achievement.

D) Van Zeeland must be induced to take early action in Belgian Parliament. At present he is not pressing for vote and has no intention doing so. His tactics are considered obstructive and devious. I have discussed with Spaak, whom Van Zeeland dislikes, what might be done to influence him. Spaak believes as do some of Van Zeeland's close advisers, and also Adenauer, that best and perhaps only chance would be have President Eisenhower and Secretary talk next week frankly and firmly to this wily statesman during his stay in US playing upon his vanity and pointing out prestige to be gained for his country by this operation. His assertion that he can do nothing until French Assembly votes is highly disruptive and deemed indicative his insincerity and scepticism regarding all European integration movements. Spaak believes favorable vote relatively easy to obtain.

E) Dutch in their methodical and reliable way are proceeding toward ratification and if satisfactory settlement French protocol demands achieved expect favorable Parliamentary action within 2 months, in spite Prime Minister's distrust subject. Beyen most cooperative.

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REVIEWED BY CRL F) ... DATE 7-1-81

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F) France is obviously the chief trouble spot in this enterprise. Pleven told me he hopes for favorable Parliamentary action in July provided that Socialist support can be attracted and that France is partially isolated by preceding votes of several partners. This prediction presupposes agreement on protocols.

Mayer is firm in his purpose obtain ratification. Told me that 4 conditions must be met in Parliament. First, protocols in some form are agreed. Two, a close association with Great Britain satisfactory to French Socialists is evolved. Three, he succeeds in obtaining greater American assistance in Indo-China. Four, Saar problem is settled with Adenauer. Regarding the last Mayer feels that to accomplish this Adenauer and himself must negotiate together. Adenauer tells me he shares this view, particularly because he holds Bidault in low regard. Opportunity for 2 heads of State to meet without offending Bidault and causing undesirable publicity has not yet presented itself. May do so on May 12 at time Governments consider EPC text.

Have talked to Bidault but have not yet been able to form estimate his real intentions. He is said to be casting longing eye on succession to Auriol in Autumn and therefore anxious conciliate Gaullists. Others allege he is by nature crafty and unreliable. His friends maintain he is maneuvering skillfully to achieve ratification. He has become very unpopular with his European colleagues who consider his witty remarks and his subterranean methods signs of innate levity and lack of conviction. Bidault and Mayer are mutually unsympathetic but the support of Bidault and the MRP are essential to the Government.

Teitgen who is close personally to Bidault thinks latter will after municipal elections in May become aggressive sponsor of ratification EDC and there will be possibility at that time Socialists reentering the Government with Mollet a Cabinet Minister. Meanwhile Bidault is being deliberately unenthusiastic about EPC to gain Mollet and like Socialist support for EDC. Mollet opposes present EPC draft primarily on grounds that being based on complete federation for 6 nations, it prejudices possibility of UK "participation" or "special membership". Some other French would like link EPC and EDC. French situation regard to EPC is so complex will discuss it in later telegram.

Bidault spoke to me generally along same lines as did Mayer and I think we can assume this is Government position. Both of them wish to talk further after I have been around the 6 Nation circuit before their departure Washington.

My own impression Bidault is playing a deep game, is lone wolf operator and counsels with few. Recently observed to me he has been long committed to the several proposals for European unity, and has repeatedly stated his support for EDC. Large majority of Foreign Office officials advising him are violently opposed to EDC.

Following Department's instructions I had long exposition from Mollet of his views and assessment of prospects EDC chances in French Parliament. Mollet says that 25% of Socialists including Moch and Daniel Mayer will be against Treaty on any terms. Another 25% will vote staunchly for it. Mollet is

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ranged ...